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852 304 Every boy and girl has to undergo the operation of scarification. This is begun when the child is quite young, and a small portion of the body is operated on. The operation is repeated at intervals during childhood, until the whole body has been scarified. A small flake of quartz or glass is used, and a series of fine incisions are made in the skin. The usual method is to cover a small portion of the skin with a number of parallel rows of short cuts. The choice of the design (if it can be called such) rests entirely with the person who performs the operation, who is in all cases a woman. The incisions leave scars that can usually only be seen when close to the person. In the photograph of Plate XV a pattern of scars may be seen. In this case the incisions became infected and raised scars were produced, and it is for this reason that they are visible in the photograph. In ordinary cases raised scars are not produced and the scarification is hardly visible in a photograph.

The only reason that the natives give for this custom is either that it improves the personal appearance, or else that it helps to make the child grow strong.

881 In the case of a girl the period of childhood is brought to a close by a ceremony that takes place on the occasion of her first menstrual discharge. The ceremony I describe is that in use in the Northern tribes, but I believe that the ceremony of the Southern tribes is very similar. On the occurrence of the first menstrual discharge the girl tells her parents, who weep over her. She must then go and bathe in the sea for an hour [343] or two by herself. After that she goes back to her parents' hut or to a special shelter that is put up for the occasion. She is 881 not required to go away from the camp. All ornaments are 292 removed from her, only a single belt of *Pandanus* leaf being left, with an apron of *čaiuyo* leaves. Strips of *Pandanus* leaf are attached round her arms near the shoulders and round her wrists, and others are placed as bands crossing her chest from the shoulder to the waist on the opposite side, and crossing her abdomen from the iliac crest on the one side to the trochanter on the other. These are so attached that the long loose ends hang down at the girl's side. Bunches of leaves, either *čelmo* (*Tetranthera lancæfolia*) or, if these be not obtainable, *poramo* (*Myristica longifolia*) are

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881 184 After this ceremony the girl is said to be *aka-ndu-kolot*. For some time afterwards she must not have her head shaved, and she must not use red paint or white clay.

841 184 I was not able to learn much about the native ideas in connection with the menstrual function. According to the account given me by one informant I gathered that the girl's first menstrual discharge is supposed to be due to sexual intercourse. The man's breath goes into her nose and this produces the discharge. It is believed that if a man were to touch a girl during this period, either during the ceremony or for some time after it, his arm would swell up.

At every recurrence of the menstrual period a woman is required to abstain from eating certain foods. According to an *Akar-Bale* informant these are, in that tribe, pork, turtle, *Paradoxurus*, honey and yams. An *Aka-Čari* informant added to the above list dugong, monitor lizard, and the fish *komar*. If she ate any of these things at such a time she would be ill. This continues throughout her life till the climacteric. A menstruating woman is not required to leave the camp, as she is in many savage communities.

From the moment of the ceremony just described the girl enters a new condition which is denoted in the *Aka-Jeru* language by the word *aka-op* (*aka-yaba* in *Aka-Bea*). This word means that the person to whom it is applied is under certain ritual restrictions, chiefly concerned with foods that may not be eaten.

881 304 In the case of a boy there is no physiological event so clearly marked as there is in that of a girl. It rests with the relatives and friends to decide when the boy is to become *aka-op*. It would seem that in the Southern tribes there is no ceremony on this occasion. Among the Northern tribes the boy is made *aka-op* by means of a ceremony that consists of making the scars on his back that are customary in these tribes[1].

When the friends and relatives of a boy decide that he is old enough to have the incisions made in his back a dance is held in the evening, and the boy is required to dance through the

[1] Unfortunately I was not able to see this ceremony performed, and my information is therefore derived from the statements of the natives.

7 [See pp. 92-94, cat. 116 — Analyst]

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whole night till he is tired. As soon as morning breaks he is made to bathe in the sea for two hours or so. He is then seated in some convenient place, not in a hut. The boy kneels down and bends forward till his elbows rest on the ground in front. One of the older men takes a pig-arrow and with the sharpened blade makes a series of cuts on the boy's back. Each cut is horizontal, and they are arranged in three vertical rows, each row consisting of from 20 to 30 cuts. When the cutting is finished the boy sits up, with a fire at his back, until the bleeding stops. During the operation and for a few hours following it the boy must remain silent. There is no treatment of the wounds to produce raised scars. The scars are much more noticeable on some men than on others.

The boy does not receive a new name on this occasion, but for a few weeks his own name is dropped and he is addressed and spoken of as *Ejido*. From this time the boy is described as being *oko-taliŋ-kolọt*, this being the masculine term corresponding to *aka-ndu-kolọt* for giris. From the time the cuts are made on his back the boy becomes *aka-op* and is under certain restrictions as to what foods he may eat.

When the wounds on his back are thoroughly healed similar cuts are made on his chest. I found a certain number of men who had no visible scars on their chests, but in the North Andaman every man has the three rows of scars on his back. Some of the women of the North Andaman have similar scars on their chests and a very few have them also on the back. These scars on women are not regularly made as part of the initiation ceremonies, and may be made after the woman has been married for some years.

During the period that a boy or girl is *aka-op* he or she is required by the customs of the tribe to abstain from eating certain foods. The exact rules in this matter differ from tribe to tribe. More particularly there are important differences between the coast-dwellers on the one hand and the jungle-dwellers on the other. The general principle, however, is in all cases the same. The boy (or girl) must abstain from all the chief foods of the people, and since he could not abstain from them all at one time without starving, he takes them in

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PLATE XV

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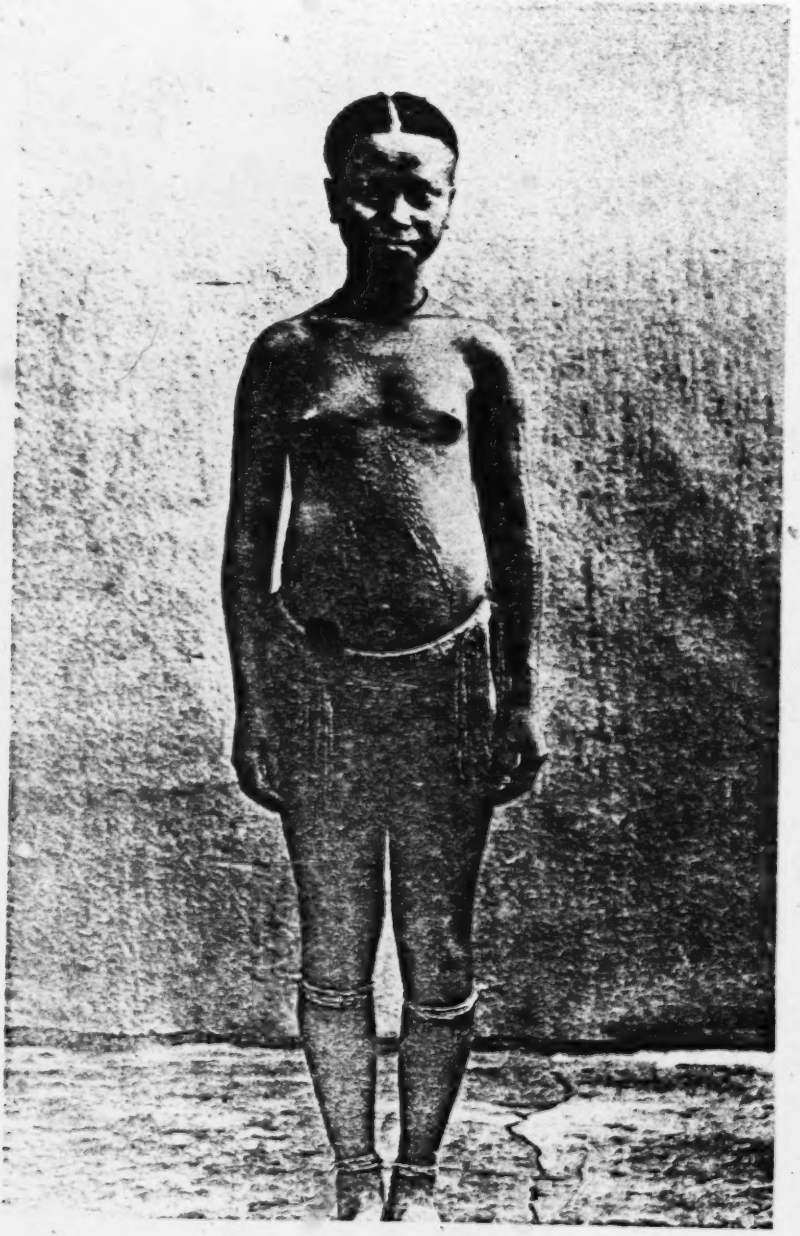

A young married woman, showing pattern scarified on body and arms

[p.126B]

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In conclusion, mention must be made of one favourite remedy of the Andamanese, namely scarification. The part of the body that is the seat of pain is scarified, as the forehead for headaches, the cheek for toothache. A number of very small incisions are made in the skin close together, with a sharp flake of quartz or glass. The incisions are just deep enough to cut through the skin and cause a little blood to ooze out, but not so deep as to produce a flow of blood. The operation is the work of women. It is probably more frequently used than any other remedy except red paint and human bones.

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followed the turtle. They could not catch him. The turtle swam away and the canoes followed. When the canoes were far from land the big turtle came and upset the canoes. The men were all turned into turtles of the same kind and size as those that are seen now. The canoes (and the big turtle?) were turned into a reef."

In the South Andaman it is supposed that the custom of scarifying the skin was invented by the first ancestor of the Andamanese, the monitor lizard. An *Akar-Bale* version of the story is as follows.

"*Duku* (Monitor Lizard) lived with his wife *Bain* (Civet-cat). *Duku* said 'I am going to scarify myself.' His wife tried to dissuade him. He would not listen to her. He went into the jungle and found a piece of *tolma*[1] (quartz) and scarified himself all over. His wife was very angry and asked him why he had done it. *Duku* replied 'I look very well like this, and you will see, all the other people will do the same'."

Mr Man gives a version of the same legend.

"*Maia Duku*, who appears to be identical with *Tomo*, is said to have been the first to tattoo himself. One day, while out on a fishing expedition, he shot an arrow; missing its object it struck a hard substance which proved to be a piece of iron, the first ever found. With it *Duku* made an arrow-head and tattooed himself, after which he sang the ditty:—

Toŋ ma lir pireŋa? toŋ yitiken! toŋ yitiken!
toŋ ma lir pireŋa? toŋ yitiken!

the interpretation of which is

'What can now strike me?
I am tattooed, I am tattooed!' etc. (Da capo)[1]."

It would seem that Mr Man, or else his informant, was not very clear about the details of the legend. In the South Andaman scarification is never performed with an arrow-head, nor with any instrument of iron, but with a flake of quartz or glass. It is only in the North and Middle Andaman that an arrow-head is used for such a purpose, and even then it is only so used to make the big scars on the back and chest, the ordinary scarifica-

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 170.

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tion being performed with a flake of stone or glass. The legend is certainly a Southern one, and the song given is in the *Aka-Bea* language. The accuracy of the transcription of the legend therefore seems very doubtful.

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Yams and honey, being two of the most important foods of the Andaman Islanders, are the subject of several legends. A common belief about yams is that they were made, or their qualities were first discovered, by *Biliku* or *Puluga*. We have already seen that there is a special connection between *Biliku* (or *Puluga*) and the yams and other edible roots. There are also other legends, however, on the same subject. An account of the first discovery of the yam called *gono* is contained in the *Akar-Bale* legend of the origin of night, already given[1].

In the North Andaman the following tale is told about the discovery of one kind of yam.

"*Maia Dik* (Sir Prawn) discovered *ko̱nmo* (*Dioscorea* sp.). He was very hungry and went to look for something to eat. He found a very large *ko̱nmo*. There was only one *ko̱nmo*. He cooked it in the fire and ate as much as he could. He dashed the remainder on a rock, and the fragments scattered everywhere and grew into fresh plants. After this there were plenty of *ko̱nmo* everywhere."

A legend is also told in the North Andaman about the first discovery of another kind of yam.

"*Maia Pulimu* (Sir Fly) and *Maia Mo̱ičo* (Sir Rail) went to hunt pig. They killed one pig. There was nothing to tie up the pig (to carry it home). *Maia Pulimu* went to look for a creeper (with which to tie up the pig). He caught hold of a creeper and pulled it and found it was a *mino* (*Dioscorea* sp.). *Maia Pulimu* was a long time away. *Maia Mo̱ičo* went and found some creeper for himself and tied up the pig and carried it home. When *Maia Pulimu* came back he found that *Maia Mo̱ičo* had gone and taken the pig. He followed him and went home. He showed the ancestors how to cook and eat *mino*."

I believe that there is a fuller version of this legend, which I was unable, however, to obtain. Another of my informants told me the story as follows.

[1] Page 214.

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contact with some source of that power which belongs to the things that affect the social life, and it thereby serves to keep alive the sentiments associated with that notion of power. The painting after eating reminds the individual of his dependence upon and obligation towards the society, and, since all join in the rite, it serves also to maintain the unity of the community.

We may now return to the question of the meaning of personal ornament in general. It is a commonplace of psychology that the development of the sense of self is closely connected with the perception of one's own body. It is also generally recognized that the development of the moral and social sentiments in man is dependent upon the development of self-consciousness, of the sense of self. These two important principles will help us to appreciate the hypothesis to which the discussion has now led, that in the Andamans the customary regulation of personal ornament is a means by which the society acts upon, modifies, and regulates the sense of self in the individual.

There are three methods of ornamenting the body in the Andamans, (1) by scarification, (2) by painting, and (3) by the putting on of ornaments.

The natives give two reasons for the custom of scarification, that it improves the personal appearance and that it makes the boy or girl grow up strong. Both these mean that scarification gives or marks an added value. The explanation of the rite would therefore seem to be that it marks the passage from childhood to manhood and is a means by which the society bestows upon the individual that power, or social value, which is possessed by the adult but not by the child. The individual is made to feel that his value—his strength and the qualities of which he may be proud—is not his by nature but is received by him from the society to which he is admitted. The scars on his body are the visible marks of his admission. The individual is proud or vain of the scars which are the mark of his manhood, and thus the society makes use of the very powerful sentiment of personal vanity to strengthen the social sentiments.

Turning now to the painting of the body, we have seen that the pattern of white clay serves to make both the painted individual and those who see him feel his social value, and we

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(for some special reason) necessary for him to feel. As the value of the individual depends upon his strength or force, the red paint is thus a suitable means of expressing the value of him on whose body it is painted, and really expresses, though by different means, exactly the same thing as the pattern of white clay with which it is combined.

We are now in a position to understand the use of white clay and red paint in the purification of a homicide. This takes place at the end of a period of isolation, during which the man is entirely cut off from the social life, and lives in a condition of supposed extreme danger on account of the blood that he has shed. During this time he may not use his hands to touch food, and at the end his hands are purified by the application to them of red paint and white clay. It is clearly because these two substances are both of them in different ways symbols of conditions of well-being that magical virtue is ascribed to their use in this instance. It is perhaps worth while to recall that both red ochre and white clay are sometimes given internally as remedies against sickness.

For the sake of the argument it has been necessary to separate the two motives underlying the use of personal ornament, the desire for protection and the desire for display. But we now see that these two motives are very intimately related and are really both involved in every kind of ornament. All ornament in some way marks the relation of the individual to the society and to that force or power in the society to which he owes his well-being and happiness. When painting or ornament is used to give protection, it is, as we have seen, the protective power of the society itself that is appealed to, and what is expressed is the dependence of the individual on the society. When ornament or paint is used for display it is again the dependence on the society that is expressed, though in a different way and on occasions of a different kind. We have seen that scarification is also a means of marking the dependence of the individual on the society, and it is very important to note that the Andamanese sometimes explain it as due to the desire for display and sometimes to the need of protection (enabling the child to grow strong and so avoid the dangers of sickness), showing very clearly that there is some

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intimate connection between these two motives, or at any rate that one and the same method of ornamentation can satisfy both. There is the further example of red paint, which is combined with the pattern of white clay for purposes of display, and is also constantly used in many ways as affording protection.

We are thus brought to the final conclusion that the scarification and painting of the body and the wearing of most if not all of the customary ornaments are rites which have the function of marking the fact that the individual is in a particular permanent or temporary relation to that power in the society and in all things that affect the social life, the notion of which we have seen to underlie so much of the Andaman ceremonial.

The scarification of a boy or girl leaves permanent marks of the permanent relation between the adult and the society. By means of it and the initiation ceremonies that follow or accompany it, and of which it may really be considered to be a part, the society gives the individual his social value, of which the scars remain as a visible sign for him to be proud of, and at the same time endows him with the power to avoid the dangers with which his life is beset.

The paintings of clay after food mark the temporary relation between the individual and the power present in the food he has eaten. It is chiefly thought of by the natives themselves as protective, as we have seen, but it also gives an opportunity for the exercise of personal vanity, for much care is taken in the designing and execution of the pattern, which therefore affords the painted individual much the same sort of satisfaction as the snake pattern of white clay. It calls his attention to his own appearance, and makes him feel pleased or satisfied with himself, conscious of his own personal value. A condition of unity and harmony is produced in the community by a feast as well as by a dance, and in each instance that harmony is expressed by the painting of every member with the same material in a similar design. The relation of the individual to the society is made visible on his body. By means of the paintings after food the society not only protects itself from danger but also rejoices in the well-being that is produced by a supply of relished food.

Inversely it can now also be shown that the painting of white

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As regards personal ornament, therefore, the only elements of a primitive Negrito culture that we seem to be able to trace in the Andamans at the present day are (1) the use of yellow vegetable fibre, and (2) the absence of any considerable use of feathers.

One element of a primitive Andamanese culture, though not necessarily of a primitive Negrito culture, would seem to be the use of a tassel of the fibre obtained from an unopened palm-leaf which is used by women to cover their genitals in the Little Andaman, and was similarly used until recently in the North Andaman.

Hair-dressing, Scarification, and Body-painting.

At the present time the usual method of hair-dressing in the Great Andaman is to shave a portion of the scalp all round so as to leave a sort of skull-cap of hair, as may be seen in many of the plates of this volume. In some cases a "parting" is made by shaving a narrow strip over the crown. (See Plate XV, for example.) When the hair grows so long as to be uncomfortable the whole head is shaved, and it is then permitted to grow again. In these days the natives cut their hair whenever they have an opportunity of obtaining a pair of scissors. In the Little Andaman women and old men are frequently to be seen with the head entirely shaved. The younger men shave away the lower edge of the hair all round in the same way as the natives of the Great Andaman, but this may be a recent practice.

The fashion of hair-dressing, at any rate for women, has changed within recent times, for Mr Man wrote in 1882 that "the majority of the women every week or ten days shave their heads almost entirely, leaving only two narrow parallel lines of hair, termed *gor*, from the crown to the nape of the neck[1]." At the present time this style of hair-dressing has fallen entirely into disuse, and the women do their hair in the same way as the men.

The operation of shaving, which is done with a flake of glass or quartz, is performed by women, and never, or very rarely, by men.

Mention has been made in an earlier part of the work of the way in which the natives of the Great Andaman scarify the skin of the body and limbs with a flake of glass or quartz. The Semang do not scarify themselves in this way, but some, at any rate, of the Negritos of the Philippines do.

The natives of the Great Andaman, as described earlier in this work, paint their bodies with a grey clay called *odu* or *og*, with a fine

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 77.

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affections. Those natives who have been long with us, have great faith in our medicines, especially in the efficacy of quinine for curing fever, from which, as exposure is very trying to their constitutions, they suffer greatly when living in the clearings we have made at Port Blair.

4. For a cold in the head they merely remain at home and nurse themselves, crouching over the fire; for a cough, sea-water is often drunk, or they will chew the thick portion of the long leaves of a plant called *jī·ni-* (of the *Alpinia* species), and when the bitter juice has been extracted and swallowed, tie the chewed fibre round the neck; if benefit be not derived from this, they then take a piece of the upper portion of the stem of the *Calamosagus laciniosus*, called *pôr-*, and, removing the bark, chew the rest, and swallow the sap. Many cures having been attributed to the wonderful properties of the two descriptions of *chū·lnga-*, one or two quarts daily are prescribed to the unhappy patient, until the cough leaves him.

5. In cases of rheumatism and paralysis, a *chàu·ga-tâ-* is tied round the parts affected, and *chū·lnga-*, moist as found, is rubbed into them: if no relief is experienced within a day or so, warm water is poured over the suffering members, which are then shampooed; should no improvement result, even after these measures, recourse is had to scarification; this is done with a quartz or glass flake, by a woman, generally the wife or one near of kin to the sufferer. It has been noticed that but few of those who have been attacked by rheumatism in the jungle ever regain the full use of their limbs.

6. In phthisis, or when any internal organ is diseased, steps are taken by the friends of the patient to defeat the machinations of the evil one, to whom the victim's sufferings are attributed; to this end, one or more *chàu·ga-tâ-* are first fastened tightly over the seat of pain, a lump of black beeswax, *tō·bul-pid-*,[1] is then held over a fire till it begins to melt, when it is instantly applied, being passed rapidly over the flesh; the wax which adheres is not removed, but wears off in a few days. The patient is also subjected to pressure with the hands by a relative or friend of the same sex, while an attendant frequently sucks the skin. Scarification is the *dernier ressort* when the bad symptoms increase.[2]

7. Every attention is paid to the wants and wishes of the sick, and the friends do all in their power to effect recovery, but no charms, excepting the *chàu·ga-tâ-*, are employed in the hope of

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, No. 57.

[2] As many bad cases of lung disease among those in the homes have been successfully treated with cod liver oil, they have now great faith in that medicine.

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in this respect, that they will not remove or replace their *ō·bunga-*[1] in the presence of any person, even though of their own sex.[2]

Tattooing.—1. With regard to the practice of tattooing,[3]—so general among the eight tribes[4] of Great Andaman, and which, as Peschel remarks, "is only another substitute for raiment"—it has been erroneously asserted that its object is to "harden the skin against the stings of mosquitoes, sandflies, &c., and also for jungle travelling;" but so far from any such benefit being derived therefrom the aborigines aver that the skin becomes more sensitive after undergoing the ordeal, which is considered, primarily, as ornamental, and secondly, as proving the courage of the individual, and his (or her) power of enduring pain.

2. There are no special ceremonies connected with the operation, which, except in the northern tribes, is almost invariably performed by women, who, however, receive no remuneration, but rest satisfied with the honour of being considered competent to fulfil the task; all the sex are not equally skilled, and therefore, those who have gained distinction by former successes are, it may be said, the recognised practitioners, though no special status, or profit, in a material sense, is gained thereby.

3. Very few children[5] of either sex are allowed to remain untattooed after about the eighth year, and the final operation is often not attempted until the sixteenth or eighteenth year, the process being carried on gradually during the intervening period.[6]

4. The instrument used on these occasions is a flake of quartz, or, now-a-days, glass,[7] which is not "inserted in a stick," but held between the forefinger and thumb; the markings are found chiefly on the back, shoulders, nape of the neck, chest,

[1] The *ō·bunga-* is first worn by girls when they are about five or six years of age.

[2] *Vide ante* "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

[3] The legend explaining its supposed origin has been given in Part II (*vide* "Mythology," paragraph 26).

[4] So far as our present knowledge enables us to say, the *jär·awa-* do not tattoo or shave themselves (*vide* "Tribal Distribution," paragraph 2).

[5] Even in the homes the practice is still observed, and one strong-minded youth, *ī·ra-jö·do-*, who has hitherto declined to undergo the operation, which he has ventured to stigmatise as unnecessary, has earned for himself the (to them) unenviable designation of "*ab-lü·ta-*," *i.e.*, the "untattooed."

[6] The arms are generally the first part tattooed, and this is accomplished *prior* to the probationary period; the back is ornamented *during* the continuance of the fast and the chest, belly, legs, &c., *subsequently*. Sometimes an *á·kà-ká daka-*, *i.e.*, a youth about 11–12, requests that he may be tattooed on his back and on the nape of his neck before attaining the usual age; such a request from a lad is considered manly, and, indeed, almost heroic, for ordinarily the painful operation is postponed until some years later.

[7] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraphs 6 and 7.

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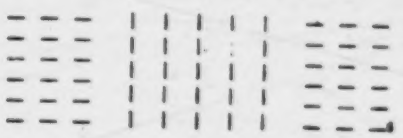
304 sides, abdomen, and also on the upper part of the feet and back of the hands.

5. Cicatrices are often observed on the persons of both sexes, but these are due to scarification (*tū·pke*[1]), or some accidental circumstance whereby the cut has been obliterated, or has failed to heal in the same manner as the others forming the design.[2]

6. The *á·kà-.chà·riàr-*, *á·kà-jār·o-*, *á·kà-.ked·e-*, and *ó·ko-jū·wai-*[3] are most given to tattooing their persons, and may be specially distinguished by three rows of cuts down the back and chest: these latter marks are ordinarily much fainter than the former. Though women do the greater part of this work, the three lines down the back are almost exclusively made by some male friend with the *ē·la-*,[4] or pig arrow; except the three lines in front, the women of these tribes have no special marks, but are covered, like the females of South Andaman, with small raised cuts, which are inflicted by their own sex, with the ordinary glass or quartz flake, and not with the *ē·la-*.

7. The *á·kà-.kól-* differ from the four tribes just mentioned, only in that they omit the centre row of the three down the back.

8. The *.bō·jig-ngī·jī-*, *.bō·jig-yáb-*, and *.bal·awa-* are covered with plain tattooing consisting merely of perpendicular and horizontal incisions all over[5] the person, thus:



852 304 9. There is no distinction made in the mode of tattooing a chief's child and the other children of the tribe; the marks have no special significance, being merely regarded as ornamental;

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraphs 5, 6, 12, 16 and 17.

[2] They are not raised by producing "proud" flesh.

[3] Among these tribes the first and most severe operation consists in making the three rows down the back; during the time the wounds take to heal, the patient abstains from pork, in the belief that his recovery will thus be expedited. [262]

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 5.

[5] The special poss. pron. denoting the various parts of the body are also used, in connection with tattooing, to express the particular limb or member to which reference is intended; thus:—

ōt-yī tinga-	tattooing on	chest or neck.
ig-yī tinga-	"	arm, shoulder, or breast.
ar-yī tinga-	"	leg.
ab-yī tinga-	"	back, body, or thigh.
ōng-yī tinga-	"	foot or hand.
á·kà-yī tinga-	"	side.

[6] *Vide* Plate II. fig. 1. Where, however, it will be seen that they do not quite attain to the regularity in marking here represented by the printing press.

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no coloured pigments or other preparations are rubbed into the wounds, which are left to heal of themselves: before leaving this subject I would mention that the face is never tattooed.

Painting.—1. Besides the permanent tattooing decorations, these savages employ three kinds of pigments for the further adornment of their dusky persons; and from the mode of their application it can be at once ascertained whether the individual be sick, or sorry, or whether he has taken, or is about to take, part in a merry-making.

2. No distinction with regard to rank or sex is made in the designs executed, yet, though these are not very numerous, no two persons are ordinarily painted exactly in the same way, as the pattern traced may be in one case on the chest, in another on the arm, in a third on the face, and so on; a temporary restriction is, however, laid upon the unmarried, who are not permitted to use the paint to their necks, either by way of ornament, or to relieve their pains.[1]

3. We have seen that according to their traditions[2] this was one of the arts in which *Pūluga-* instructed their first parents, and though temporarily lost after the Deluge it was revived by the accidental re-discovery of the necessary pigments: it may, therefore, be reasonably inferred that the practice is a very ancient one among these tribes.

4. The materials used are *ōg-*, *tâ·la-ōg-*, and *kòi·ob-*, which are applied, respectively, as a wash and in designs, more or less minute, with the nail or the tips of the fingers.

5. The first (*ōg-*), is a pale "whitish-grey" clay,[3] which is mixed with water and smeared thickly over the entire person with the palms of the hand, to denote mourning;[4] a lump of the same compound (*del·a-*) is also placed on the head at these times: hence the term *â·kà-ōg-*, a mourner.

6. After eating pork or turtle they are also in the habit of smearing *ōg-* over their bodies with their fingers, in the belief that it affects their breath, and that evil spirits will be unable to detect, and therefore will not be attracted to, them by the savoury smell of the food of which they have partaken. Again, when heated by travelling, or by hunting or dancing, they have recourse to the same wash, but in these cases it is applied thinly.[5]

[1] *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 2.

[2] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraphs 9 and 27.

[3] "I may remark that the natives far West . . . . . when mourning for the dead, paint the whole of the body of a white or yellow colour; while in the East of New Guinea the natives for a similar event paint themselves with black" (*vide* paper by Signor S. M. D'Albertis: "Travels in New Guinea," Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vi, p. 218.)

[4] *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 2.

[5] *Vide* "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

be supposed, is soon obliterated, and requires therefore to be constantly renewed.

2. Only in very exceptional cases, when the services of a woman are not obtainable, will men consent to operate upon one another, for among these savages shaving is regarded as essentially a feminine occupation:[1] the instrument used for this purpose is effective, if rude, and consists merely of a flake of quartz, or now more generally of glass; the manner in which these primitive razors are made is described under "Stone Implements."[2]

3. Previous to shaving an *infant*, the mother usually moistens the head with milk which she presses from her breast, but when operating upon bigger children and adults, water only is used.

Deformations.—1. Unless tattooing can be so regarded, these savages do not intentionally produce any deformities, or practice artificial deformations in any way.[3] No attempt is made to alter the shape of the nose by flattening or pinching it, nor is the cartilaginous septum ever perforated for the purpose of inserting ornamental bars or rings.

2. In this, as in many other respects, the Andamanese differ greatly from their neighbours, the Nicobarese, who not only flatten the occiputs of their children in infancy, but, from the period of puberty, blacken their teeth,[4] and perforate the lobes of their ears to such an extent as to enable them, by the time they are full grown, to insert a wooden cylindrical instrument three-quarters of an inch thick.

3. There is, however, a deformity of the skull observable in most Andamanese women, but it is caused unintentionally, and arises from the practice, to which allusion has already been made,[5] of placing the cane or cord by which a load is borne across the anterior portion of the cranium: this habit, especially when commenced at an early age, cannot fail to produce a more or less deep indentation.[6]

[1] *Vide ante* "Social Relations," paragraph 3.

[2] *Vide post* "Stone Implements," paragraph 4.

[3] Mutilation, such as the amputation of a part, or whole, of the fingers, which is practised among certain African tribes, is quite unknown to this race, as are also the customs of circumcision and castration.

[4] "Men and women use so large a quantity of betel-nut lime and betel-leaves that their teeth are as black as ink, and the space between them being filled with that matter they appear as a solid piece, much like the horn inserted in the jaws of the tortoise" (*vide* "Notice of the Nicobar Islands," by the Rev. P. Barbé).

[5] *Vide ante* "Physical Powers and Senses," paragraph 2.

[6] So strongly marked is the deformation in most cases, that the late Dr. J. Barnard Davis, being unaware of its true cause, in a letter to me on the subject, wrote as follows:—"The skull shows unmistakably that she has been subjected to the same barbarous treatment which the women among Australians have to submit to: every Australian woman's skull that I have

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804 **Weights and Measures.**—1. When speaking of their physical powers I stated that 40 lbs. is ordinarily the maximum of a man's burden; but this is, of course, only an approximate estimate, for among these savages there is no recognised standard of weights or measures, corresponding to the nail, finger-joint, thumb, span, or pace.

2. In referring to the size, shape, or weight of a small object, they would, if possible, liken it to some seed, such as that of the *Entada pursætha*, or fruit, such as mangosteen, jack-fruit, or cocoa-nut; of larger weights they would say, "as much as" or "more than one man could carry" or "lift;" for expressing capacity or quantity they would say "a bucketful," "basketful," "handful," "canoe-load," as the case might be.

3. There is no prescribed or uniform size for any mat, tool, weapon, or utensil, the dimensions of each and all being dependent on the will of the maker, and on the material at his disposal.

[802] 4. No tallies are kept of numbers of articles, nor are counters such as seeds, stones, &c., employed in counting.

5. In speaking of a short distance, as, for example, 50 yards, they would compare it to "a bowshot," but in describing the distance of a certain spot it would be defined as equal to that separating two places, well known to the speaker and the person addressed; any distance over 15 miles would be said to "exceed a day's journey."

805 **Astronomy.**—1. It has been stated by Dr. Day that the Andamanese "divide the day into three portions, sunrise, mid-day, and sunset, recognising no subdivisions;" this is, however, incorrect, for though they are naturally content with a, to us, rough method of reckoning time, there are no less than thirteen periods of the day and night distinguished by definite terms, viz.:—

ɯá·ngala-, the first appearance of dawn.
ela-ɯá·nga-, between dawn and sunrise.
bō·do-la-dō·atinga-, sunrise.[1]
lī·li-, or *dī·lma-*, from sunrise to about 7 a.m.
bō·do-la-kâ·galnga-,
bō·do-la-kâ·ynga-, or } forenoon.
bō·do-châ·nag-,
bō·do-chà·u-, noon.

● [304] met with has borne ineffaceable marks of injuries from which the living woman has suffered during her lifetime. And this is clearly the fate of the *Miscopie* woman also."

[1] Although they are aware of the variation in the sun's position at the same hour at different seasons they do not take the fact into consideration.

000 establish friendly relations by means of the woman's cries we put off to the *Bess*, hove up anchor and stood out of the harbour.

I greatly regret that the necessity for shooting this man should have arisen and that it should have devolved upon me to do it; but from our Andamanese we learnt that the damaged man undoubtedly belonged to the same raiding party that, between two and three weeks before, murdered one of our convict petty officers while out in the forest looking after the garjan-oil collectors. They also told us they had frequently encountered him before, recognised him by his large moustache and that he was an absolutely implacably hostile villain. As our boat was, at the time of the attack, lying in shallow water, bows to the shore, and the crew had to stand on the thwarts to fend her off the coral knobs and were thereby terribly exposed, a speedy retreat, as well as being very impolitic, was impracticable. Two alternatives then remained, to allow the savages to fire into our crowded boat with the certainty of hitting some one, or forestalling them by shooting one of their number. Our Andamanese were certainly physically not the equals of the Jarawas, so that we could hardly rely on their shooting as well as their opponents and repelling the attack with their bows and arrows, hampered as they were for want of room and the necessity of looking after the boat. Moreover, we had ordered them not to display or even touch their weapons to provoke an attack and they had behaved with exemplary self-control in strictly obeying their orders, relying implicitly on the protection of the weapons in our hands. Had the three men fired simultaneously, as was their evident intent, into our midst, the arrows, coming from such different directions, must have hit some of us and a disaster would almost certainly have ensued. I need hardly say that the Andamanese in our boat desired the total extermination of their life-long enemies, the Jarawas, while those in the *Belle* were most indignant and aggrieved at not being permitted to land to share in the fight.

After leaving Port Campbell we steered south and at 4-30 dropped our anchor off the Mount Augusta Home in Port Mouat where we spent the night. One of the women in the home was overjoyed at hearing that a Jarawa had been injured, as they had ousted her tribe from their possessions in Port Campbell. The knowledge now imparted to the Jarawas that rifles can injure as well as make a noise, may save the lives of any mariners who chance to be shipwrecked on these coasts.

17th February 1901.—Left Port Mouat at dawn, 5-30, towing a large Andamanese canoe, a present for the Onges. To the south of Rutland Island the wind freshed considerably, the canoe upset and we were a good deal delayed by collecting the scattered oars, seats and steersmen and finally hoisting the canoe up to our rail. After anchoring the *Belle* between the Cinque Islands, taking Mr. Bonig and the Onges aboard, we left at 10 A.M. for Little Andaman, picking eight Onge women and two boys off South Cinque Island where they had been awaiting the return of their husbands from Port Blair. We reached Bumila Creek at 3 P.M., landed the Onges, planted some cocoanuts, explained and exhibited the effects of rifle fire to the people, saw their dances, gave them presents and left them happy and contented at 5 P.M. Bumila Creek we found well deserved its name, as crowds of flies settled on our boat and accompanied us back to the *Bess*. Several of the Onge women had large scars on their backs, many 6—8 inches in length, some women having four to eight such scars. These are said to be caused by cuts inflicted by their irate husbands to mark their displeasure at conjugal infidelity, which, to judge by the large proportion of scarred women, is not uncommon. After a very rough passage rendered difficult by the darkness of the night and the absence of a good compass, we anchored off Cinque Island at 8-30.

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000 *18th February 1901.*—Landed on south Cinque Island to collect specimens of the bare rocks which form such a marked feature of parts of Rutland and the Cinque Islands, returned to the *Bess* at 8-30, hove up anchor, left for Port Blair, and reached there 11-30 A.M.

Diary of Mr. H. H. D'Oyly, Third Assistant Superintendent, Port Blair, on the second tour round the Andaman Islands on Census duty from the 15th to the 18th February 1901.

15th February 1901.—Left Port Blair with Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., and Captain A. R. S. Anderson, I.M.S., in the steam launch *Bess* at 6 A.M., following close behind the steam launch *Belle* which was navigated by Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, going north *vid* Kyd Island. As the weather was bad for two or three days previously until last night, it was decided to reverse the original programme drawn up by the Chief Commissioner, so as to give time for the sea to calm down before attempting the passage to the Little Andaman. We stopped for half an hour at Kyd Island to question the people at the Andamanese Home there, where we went before in the first tour, and to leave some cocoanuts to be planted; then proceeded through Middle Strait to Kwangtung Harbour. No people were found on the way. At the village in the mouth of the Harbour, there were 51 people, counting women and children, collected according to directions given by Mr. Man, in the first tour, from the surrounding country. Details are given in the Census forms, to be submitted to the Chief Commissioner, at the end of the operations. Remained in this Harbour for the night.

16th February 1901.—Left Kwangtung Harbour at 6 A.M., the *Bess* following the *Belle*, and ran down the west coast of South Andaman to Port Campbell. In entering the port we blew the steam whistle several times before seeing any people on shore. At length when we had turned to run out of the port, about a dozen Andamanese including some women were seen walking fast along the shore from the mouth of the Harbour towards the interior. Our

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Ongе-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

●[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Ongе-Jarawa; no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Ongе-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Ongе-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Ongе-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Ongе-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Ongе-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

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[531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Ongе-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Ongе-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Ongе-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

[285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Ongе-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Ongе-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Ongе-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Ongе-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

or severe injury. However, like many of the lower mammals, they recover quickly from illness when they overcome it. 164

Idiocy, insanity and natural deformities are rare among them. Epilepsy is however recognised and homicidal mania occurs sometimes with concomitants of insanity, such as eating raw flesh or earth and drinking the blood of the victim. 158 732

An unintentional artificial depression of the forehead and sides and top of the skull is produced in some women, chiefly among the Onges, caused by using a strap to carry loads on the back when young. [304]

No parts of the body are intentionally pierced, injured, or deformed for the wearing of ornaments and other purposes, though the skin is extensively tatooed.

The statements at my disposal as to the relative prevalence of diseases among the Andamanese and their relative fatality are unsatisfactory, but so far as I can make out the following is a fair statement of the case in order of importance:— 164

I.—Fevers	. . . . .	45	per cent.	of all cases.
II.—Respiratory organs	. . . .	35	»	» »
III.—Digestive organs	. . . .	18	»	» »
IV.—Other diseases	. . . .	2	»	» »

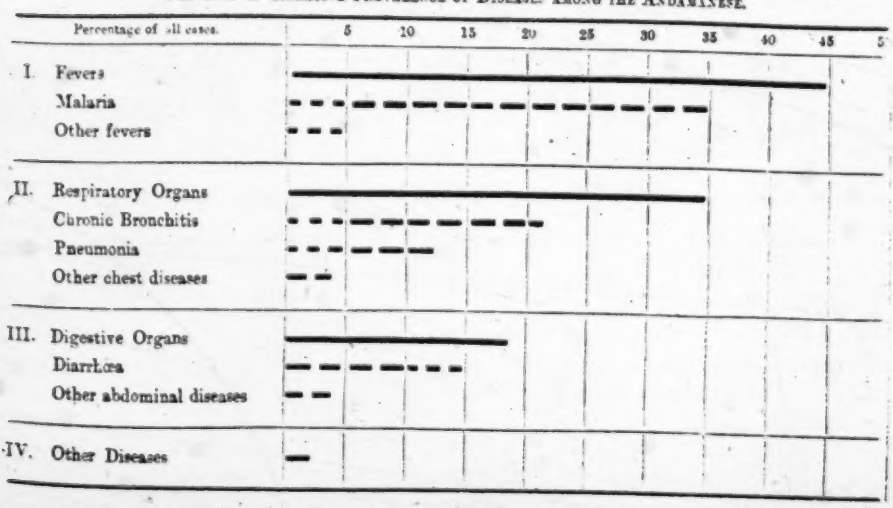
These classes may be further divided up more specifically thus:—

I.—Malaria	. . . . .	40	per cent.	of all cases.
Other fevers	. . . .	5	»	» »
II.—Chronic bronchitis	. . . .	21	»	» »
Pneumonia	. . . .	12	»	» »
Other chest diseases	. . . .	3	»	» »
III.—Diarrhœa	. . . .	15	»	» »
Other abdominal diseases	. . .	3	»	» »
IV.—Other diseases	. . . .	1	»	» »

Without placing too much reliance on the above table, it serves to bring out the fact that among the Andamanese, as among the alien immigrants, malarial fevers are the overwhelming prevalent causes of sickness. As also in the case of immigrants, malarial fevers are not nearly so fatal in proportion to cases as the diseases of the respiratory and digestive organs. Thus I make out that deaths from malarial fevers occur in 8·5 per cent. of the cases, while those from diseases of the respiratory organs in 90 per cent., and of the digestive organs in 74 per cent. These considerations prepare us for the old statement that the prevalent diseases among the Andamanese are climatic and the same as those of the foreign immigrants.

The following diagram brings into clear relief the relative prevalence of diseases among the Andamanese as disclosed by the above tables:—

DIAGRAM OF RELATIVE PREVALENCE OF DISEASES AMONG THE ANDAMANESE.



881 and pointing to a limited tabu. On reaching puberty or thereabouts, between 12 and 16 years of age, abstention from about 6 kinds of food, each in turn, is voluntarily commenced and continued for some years. At the end of each abstention there are a few ceremonies and some dancing and the youth of both sexes become "grown up." There is nothing else to mark this period beyond the application of an honorific name while it lasts, no secret to be communicated, no religious ceremony. In after-life, however, men who have gone through the initiatory period together will not fight, quarrel, nor call each other by name. They will assume great friendship, while avoiding each other with a mutual shyness. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food and every man has his own tabued articles through life, which is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable.

264 576 There are also limitations as to sexual family relations. Only husband and wife can eat together. Widows and widowers, bachelors and maidens eat with their own sex only. A man may not address directly a married woman younger than himself or touch his wife's sister or the wife of a younger relative, and *vice versâ*.

302 304 The tattooing is partly ceremonial, as a test of courage and endurance of pain, and so is painting the body with clays, oils, etc. By the material and design is shown sickness, sorrow or festivity and the unmarried condition.

535 **Amusements.**—The great amusement of the Andamanese, indeed their chief object in life after the chase, is the formal evening or night dance, a curious monotonous performance accompanied by drumming the feet rythmically on a special sounding board, like a Crusader's shield and mistaken for a shield by several observers, singing a song more or less impromptu and of a compass limited to four semitones and the intermediate quarter tones, and clapping the hands on the thighs in unison. The dance takes place every evening whenever there are enough for it, and lasts for hours and all night at meetings of the tribes or septs for the purpose. It then becomes ceremonial and is continued for several nights in succession. Both sexes take allotted parts in it. This and turtle hunting are the only things which will keep the Andamanese awake all night long. There are five varieties of the dance among the tribes: that of the Onge-Jarawas being an entirely separate performance.

533 **Music.**—The Andamanese appreciate rhythm and time, but not pitch or tune. They sing in unison, but not in parts, and can neither sing in chorus nor repeat or even catch an air. The key in which a solo or chorus is started is quite accidental. They can be readily taught any dance step and can teach it themselves from observation.

Song.—Every man who respects himself is a composer of songs, always consisting of a solo and refrain, and sings without action or gesticulation and always to the same rhythm. The songs relate only to travel, sport and personal adventures, never to love, children and the usual objects of poetry, and very rarely to beliefs and superstition. The wording is enigmatic and excessively elliptic, the words themselves being in grammatical order, but shorn of all affixes as a rule. As in all poetry unusual words are employed. But clipped as the wording is and prosaic as the subjects are, the Andamanese are far from being unable to give a poetic turn to their phraseology and ideas. The women have lullabies for their babies.

524 **Games.**—The Andamanese are childishly fond of games and have an indigenous blind-man's-buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek. Mock pig and turtle hunts, mock burials, and "ghost" hunts are favourite sports. Matches in swinging, swimming, throwing, skimming (ducks and drakes), shooting (archery), and wrestling are practised.

551 **Naming of Children and Adults.**—Every child is named for life after one of about twenty conventional names by the mother, of course without reference to sex, immediately upon pregnancy becoming evident, to which afterwards a nickname, varying occasionally as life proceeds, is added from personal peculiarities, deformities, disfigurements, or eccentricities and sometimes from flattery or reverence. Girls are also given "flower names" after one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

much assistance in this respect, as the muscular insertions are exaggerated in both sexes, both being subjected to continued physical effort resulting in muscular bulk.

One quite outstanding physical feature in the Onges is their teeth. The palate is unusually arched, unlike that of the African pygmies or the Bushmen. The teeth, which are never filed or cut, as many primitive peoples do for decorative purposes, are very white; caries is rare, and although never cleaned the teeth are retained till late in life. A common abnormality is that the lateral incisors are as pointed as the canines. This, with the whiteness of the teeth and eyes against the blackness of the skin, gives the Onges a sinister appearance, which may account for the old description of the Andamanese as men with ferocious dogs' heads. The only (summary) cleaning the Onge teeth receive is the use of toothpicks, thinner and rather longer than the European variety and made from the tough, flexible bark of a certain reed. After use, they are carefully thrust into the hair for future occasions. Every Onge has one or more threaded through the hair on top of the head.

The strength of the Onge teeth enables their owners to champ their way through what are for us inconceivable quantities of food, both animal and vegetable, which is chewed slowly and determinedly, dust, earth, sand and all, and then swallowed without apparent ill effects, other than the flatulence arising from overconsumption of animal matter. But the Onges use their teeth for other purposes besides eating. In time the teeth become worn down by the inevitable grinding of dirt and grit, but this does not prevent the Onges from continuing to chew the bark of trees and cords, which is a lifelong occupation. This duty falls mainly on the women, and I have seen aged women, their teeth worn almost to the gums, doggedly chewing bark as their contribution to the communal life of the group. The strength of the teeth is unbelievable – I have seen children of ten to fifteen years crush nails up to two millimetres thick, and dent lumps of iron.

I myself once had good cause to be grateful for their power. My party and I found ourselves stranded in the forest on South Brother without guns or even knives, and without cooking utensils. There were large clutches of turtle eggs buried in the sand nearby and my two Onge companions pointed out a coconut tree loaded with nuts (which turned out to be the only one on the islands, seeded

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onges

Western standards taciturn or sly, and the Negro peoples, who frequently manifest complete abandonment in their amusement. Obscenities appear to be an unfailing source of amusement to the Onges, who indulge in them at every opportunity, even with strangers, and the obscene dances of the womenfolk are a continual source of pleasure. The exchange of obscenities is, indeed, a sign of friendship, and I found that vulgarity was invariably immensely successful in provoking hilarity; any subsequent negotiations were always peaceable and satisfactory.

An extension of this vulgarity is an infantile vanity, not without sexual significance. The care with which their bodies are painted nearly every day is one aspect of this vanity; the more a wife loves her husband the more magnificent the designs she executes on him. The paintings on their bodies reach a peak every two or three days, as the Onges fear illness and death if they are not newly daubed, and the face at least must be continually painted, with at least smears on the chest, arms and legs. A man returning from an exceptionally successful hunting trip is met by his wife with a specially unusual and elaborate design, which she carries out with great devotion. During each of my visits to the island the Onges would rush up to show me their embellishments as soon as they were finished, and took a delight in standing in front of my camera, even though they had no idea what it was for.

It is curious that unlike most primitive peoples, the Onges do not practise tattooing, which is one of the simplest ways, if not *the* simplest, in which such peoples satisfy their craving for physical admiration. The other Andamanese do, puncturing the skin with tiny slivers of obsidian or quartz, but the Onges paint with ochre instead. They love, too, to weave garlands of fruit, flowers and leaves from the forest, returning to the camp laden with them, men and women alike, delighted with their own beauty. This divergence of customs in peoples essentially of the same stock, but separated for long periods of time into endogamous isolates, is very remarkable.

An intense preoccupation with sexual attraction and activity has led to the prevalence of aberration. All the Onges have homosexual tendencies. I became aware of this during my first visit to Little Andaman on one of my longer expeditions, when I had taken only men with me, and on subsequent occasions I therefore allowed the men to bring their wives. The effect of long periods of absence on

18: Kleiweg de Zwaan E-5 (1906-1910) 1925 OB1 Indonesia
Andamans AZ2

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Fig. 12. Mincopie Woman of the Andamans

Photo A. R. Brown.